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THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONALISM AND ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY

by

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A.B. University of California, 1927
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Thesis

Submitted in the Department of
Christian Theology in partial
fulfilment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of
Divinity in the Pacific School
of Religion

1930

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INTRODUCTION

Fifteen years have passed since those dark dreadful scenes of war which turned this planet into a whirling, writhing mass of fire and hatred. The distraught patriotism which blazed high in those fearful days has cooled down in the intervening years of reconstruction. What has come of all the life which was sacrificed on the altar of patriotism? What good came out of the heaping of hate upon hate? What prosperity has come to our country through this fervid effort? The answer to those and to many other questions of like nature comes thundering back, "Nothing!" None of those things were accomplished fully as were hoped for by the blind militarists. But there has issued out of disillusionment, and out of the long toilsome period of reconstruction, an awakening which has come to mankind bringing signs of hope, much as the dawn of a new day comes to a man after a troubled and sleepless night.

Men are seeking new ideals. There is a groping search for something higher than that which has heretofore been known, and that something is certainly far above the self-seeking of former years.

"The task of the 19th century," said Andrew Carnegie, "is to end man-killing." The skeptics answer now, as they always have before: "War is inevitable, it is bound up

with human nature." This 20th century has disclosed many lessons, and among them the lesson that not only must man end killing, but he must learn to live amicably with his neighbors of every race and color. Nations cannot isolate themselves; that is a position of the past. For nations to adjust themselves to the progress of the times and to carry on harmonious relationships one with another is the problem and challenge of the new day.

The keynote of the 20th century is internationalism, and world brotherhood. The doctrine of internationalism has not always had its present popular currency, but it has come down through the ages, gathering fragments of thought here and there.

The object of this paper is to attempt to trace the idea back of the prevalent spirit of internationalism to its early source. From its origins we will try to follow its development to modern times. As we gather instances, it may often seem as though they are not directly connected with the idea of internationalism. It may seem a very arbitrary selection of one event or condition over another. However, that depends on one's point of view. The writer has noted those schemes and progressive movements in history which seem to have contributed in some way to the general growth of the idea of internationalism.

Because the subject is so vast, too vast in fact for the limits of such a paper as this one, many phases of the important subject will necessarily have to be eliminated or greatly condensed. We shall have to limit our field and not go into the subject in its modern practical applications such as the League of Nations and the World Court or many other newer peace plans.

The main purpose of the paper will be to try to show the relationship between Internationalism and Christianity. Part IV will present those passages of the New Testament which have a bearing upon the spirit and practice of Internationalism.

PART I.

THE EARLY BEGINNINGS OF INTERNATIONALISM

From an ancient period in history comes the earliest recorded formulation of the idea of brotherhood. It is a discovery made at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt which preserves for us some enlightening facts through archeology. Excavations have unearthed inscriptions which were written by Akhnaton, who was Pharaoh of Egypt from 1375 to 1358 B.C. They indicate that the ruler preached a universalistic monotheism and show that he regarded himself as owing the same duties to all men, irrespective of race or nationality. This is an isolated fact or phenomenon in history and has therefore no great influence on subsequent human thought.

This same idea was propounded by the Hebrews and developed in their Biblical literature, and has had more or less permanent and far reaching results. In the Hebrew writings we can see that the idea was not always present, but that it gradually evolved and developed. Take the following facts for example; very early in Hebraic history it is known that there was a bad feeling toward other peoples. The sting of ill treatment toward foreigners can often be felt, and the din of clashing arms is frequently heard. Moses says of the Creator who to him is

a God of vengeance, "The Lord is a man of war"(Exodus XV:3), "He is mighty in battle"(XXIV:8), and many other warlike attributes are given to God by other writers.

In the history of the Hebrew race one can see a great deal of suffering and is led to ask, "To what purpose is all this suffering which Israel has undergone?" It is certainly more than is required by divine justice. They have received double for their sins. A philosophy is built up. It is found that God's choice of Israel is not for her sake alone. In the working out of the future, not one small part of the world is to be considered, but rather the consideration is for all nations. All have the right to receive the blessing of knowledge. Other peoples shall recognize that "Only in Thee is God and beside Thee is none, no God-head at all. To him every knee shall bow and every tongue shall swear."(Isaiah XLV:14, 15, 22,23.) "This universality of the true religion is the end to be attained by Israel's suffering is incident to his mission to nations."

As far as we know from historical records, the ancient Greeks were the first of Europeans to promulgate the idea of internationalism, and it is from them that western civilization today directly inherits it.

In the Hellenic world, conditions were favorable

for a considerable growth of intermunicipal customs, and principles. The Greeks made a clear distinction between themselves and Barbarians, and recognized the existence of a Greek law, not applicable to the world at large. The Greek cities were like the Hebrew tribes, for they formed an international circle, distinct from the world and bound together by community of interests, which sprang from their common race, religion, and culture. With the Greeks, the idea of city autonomy was very powerful, and it was much stronger than the sense of national unity, so that a scientific body of intermunicipal principles was never created.

We have said that the Greeks made a clear distinction between themselves and Barbarians. For the Barbarian, war is the rule; and peace the exception. Food and the means of existence are sought through plunder and violence. Here, right is might. It is keenly felt that nature has given all an equal claim to all things, but not every one can have them. Because of this, a fearful state of insecurity is bound to come in the end. "Government is hardly to be avoided by men who live together."(1) Man-

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(1) Locke:"On Civil Government", chapter VIII g 105

kind needs some organization to allow each individual to get along with his neighbor. Socrates said, "A State arises out of the needs of mankind: no one is self-sufficing, but all of us have many wants."(1)

The constant dread that they may be attacked from outside peoples and the growing consciousness of the necessity of being able to present a united front against the enemy, resulted in their choosing some leader. Usually he was the head of some family. In Israel, Joshua was chosen as captain of hosts. Situations and circumstances vary; and so it was sometimes the case that some one would be called upon to perform the simple duties of a primitive governor or king.

Beyond the boundaries of the territories of each nation, lay the land of a deadly foe. Even so highly cultured a people as the Greeks felt this and not only this, but also they believed that a law of nature had naturally made every outsider, and every Barbarian, their inferior and their enemy.(2) Although this attitude prevailed toward all outsiders, the Greeks within their own territory developed a spirit which we might believe to be a step

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(1) Plato: "Republic II, 369
(2) Latin "hostis" means "a stranger", afterwards transf. "an enemy", Harper's Latin Dictionary.

toward breadth. Relations among cities which because of their autonomy were like separate nations, were governed in the main by considerations of policy and expediency. Religious leagues such as the Delphic Amphictyony and political confederations, such as the Delian Confederacy and the Achaean and Aetolian leagues, were established. The formation of leagues usually indicates that the people have arrived at a stage where they are ready to co-operate to help not only themselves, but others, for a broader good.

Sometimes a single city was recognized to have political and military leadership over a great number of others. Sparta, Athens, and Thebes occupied such positions before the Greeks were united under Alexander the Great of Macedonia. Attempts were made to maintain the balance of power among the leading cities.

Among the Greeks, warfare was frequent, severe and cruel. It will be remembered how booty was divided among victors, and how prisoners were killed or enslaved. In our histories we also read of how they recognized few obligations to foreigners, while resident aliens had rights only through some Greek citizen who acted as patron.

These may seem like instances of conduct far removed from ideas which might be suggestive of the beginnings of

internationalistic feeling or world-mindedness. On the other side, we have a picture of conditions which certainly show progress in the idea of fairness and co-operativeness. The Greeks had certain rules and customs as the inviolability of envoys, the right of asylum and truces for the burial of the dead. The suspension of hostilities during great religious festivals such as the Olympic Games was usually observed. A frequent task of the popular assemblies was to hear and criticize the reports of returning ambassadors, to instruct envoys sent abroad, and to discuss proposals made by foreign ambassadors.

The Greeks made a decided contribution to the idea of settling disputes by arbitration. Questions of religion, commerce, and territory were referred by agreement to individuals, to other cities, or to religious oracles for decision. Agreements before hand to submit disputes to arbitration were sometimes inserted in treaties. In the field of maritime law considerable progress was made. In the early Greek period, piracy was regarded as honorable, but was supplanted by legitimate and peaceful commerce. As early as the third century B.C. a body of maritime law was developed by the commercial city of Rhodes, which acted as a sort of mandatory of all the Greek States interested in the safety of the seas. This Rhodian Law it

is said, served as the basis for commercial laws of the Middle Ages.(1)

In a later period the Greeks came to recognize the obligation of certain ill-defined rules as they came into relations with those outside peoples without the Hellenic world. In dealing with the Medes and Persians references were made to "the laws of all mankind".(2) The Idea of universal law, even though it was so undeveloped was distinctly a progressive step. We are struck by the fact that the intercourse of men even of diverse races and religions was not absolutely lawless.

In the Ancient world, briefly speaking, two methods were used to regulate international life. The great oriental empires tried the method of attempting to impose peace on other countries by force and thus to create a world state. This system failed. Rome alone was able to achieve a measure of success in the keeping of a general peace on this basis for several centuries. It was an achievement, however, for which they had to pay a heavy price. Rome paid by the stagnation of creative effort, by the decadence of civilized life, and finally by a bit-

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(1) Benedict, R.D.:Historical Polity of R.S.L.
Yale Law Journal, February 1909
(2) Herodotus: VII 136, and Thucydides: I 67

ter restless life within her borders - ever facing internal struggle. But we shall return to this point later.

The second of the two methods used by the ancient empires to regulate international life was that which was tried by the Greeks, and it seems that it is more in line with our thought as to how the idea of internationalism arose. A system of independent states was established, which aimed at maintaining a balance of power. Treaties were drawn up between the different states, and some settled their disputes by adjudication. But even this method did not establish peace, for on the contrary, the fact that there were numerous wars is well known. With this in mind, we look upon this period as one which made possible a period of active political life, in which many modern international ideas had their origin.

There is an opinion which is prevalent which holds that prior to the Alexandrian Age, and the founding of the Stoic School of Philosophy, Greek thought never got above narrow city state patriotism and this conception of an irreconcilable barrier between the Hellenes and Barbarians. Hugh Harris gives examples of the beginnings of a broader view which are found in the earlier classical period of Greek thought. His four main lines of approach are the poetic, scientific, philosophical, and

religious.(1)

First, through poetry, Homer brought the people out of their own stretch of native heath to the expansive horizon beyond. He takes us in imagination to the happy land of the Phaeacians and shows us the Abii who live far away in the north and who are the "justest of men", and describes the Ethiopians who represent the dark skinned races of Asia and Africa, as "blameless". The "Odessey" is concerned with the travels and adventures of the hero who "saw the cities and knew the minds of many men".

The feeling of sympathetic understanding is a great factor in the promotion of pleasant relationships between different peoples. Plato brings out quite clearly an unconscious working of this very thing in his "Ion". He records how when the rhapsode is reciting the sorrows of Andromache, Hecuba, or Priam, his eyes fill with tears as his soul appears in ecstacy to be far away in Troy. Plato then describes how he produces a similar effect upon the spectators.

In Euripides' "Andromache", Hermione's remark that

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(1) International Journal of Ethics - October 1927. Article, "Cosmopolitanism": Hugh Harris. (Although Cosmopolitanism and Internationalism are not the same in significance, Mr. Harris' points do show how thought broadened among the Greeks, which is a basic necessity in Internationalism.

the Barbarian's laws are not a standard for our city; receives the reply from the captive Andromache:"Alike in Asia or in Hellas infamy attends base actions".

Euripides points to a human nature which is beyond and behind the mere accidents of race and citizenship and regarded each man's natural endowments as being his true fatherland. In accordance with this he said: "Man finds a native country wherever the earth nourishes him". And more finely expressed, he says: "The whole expanse of air is open to the eagle's flight, and every land is native soil to the noble man". This idea is more truly suggestive of cosmopolitanism, but it is also a broad and generous spirit which is not foreign to the spirit of internationalism.

The second approach is the scientific. Herodotus is set forth as the enlightened one in this line of approach. As the father of history, he put his profession very high. His aim is stated in his opening sentence: "to preserve from oblivion the great and wonderful deeds of both the Greeks and the barbarians". This statement evidently annoyed Lucian who was perhaps not so advanced and critical, though he came many years later,(1) and he took the liberty to alter the statement of Herodotus to read:

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(1) Lucian,c A.D.125,c A.D. 190; Herodotus,B.C. 484-425

"Greek victories and barbarian defeats".

Learning and understanding are essential factors in internationalism. Love of learning is a determining factor in the scientific approach. In Herodotus' history we read of Solon, that he "traveled through many lands from love of knowledge and a desire to see the world."

Hecataeus was another historian who gives us light on progressive thought. In order to gather material for his geographical, ethnological, and historical researches, he traveled widely. His contact with foreigners led him to declare: "I write as I think true, for the stories of the Greeks seem to me manifold and laughable." In this way he laid down the proposition that, hard though it may be, scientific truth should come before national traditions.

The synoptic attitude which the Greeks held toward the universe is also a step toward the right spirit. It was their philosophical approach, the spiritual and ethical concepts which necessarily led to their cosmopolitanism. Philosophers such as the Sophists and Anaxagoras were itinerants. Others noted for their distant travels were Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Democritus.

Democritus at one time complained: "I visited Athens and no one knew me." Later as a result of his wanderings which took him farther and farther afield, he could say,

"To the wise man every country is a dwelling place for the whole world is fatherland of a good soul."

Heracleitus and Empedocles set forth the doctrine that immanent in the order of the universe is a moral law of reason and in this law all men everywhere as rational creatures share, and it is to this law that human laws everywhere should conform. This idea of the law of nature or natural law which they thus promulgated was an immense contribution and has been of greatest importance in the history of human thought.(1)

Religion is often the expression of the highest and best thought of a people, and as the last of the four main lines of approach to the idea of worldmindedness, we turn to it for an expression of its feelings. There is evidence that the Greeks felt the insufficiency of the particularistic type of religion and were striving for a higher expression. It seems that they were feeling for something which was larger, and recognized the need for uni-

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(1) In 1925 at the foundation of the British Institution of Philosophical Studies a prospectus was issued which emphasized the point, "that philosophy, by enlarging the objects of our thoughts and actions, is able to make us citizens of a larger world."

versalism.(1)

Orphism which entered Greece in 6 B.C. taught the salvation of the individual soul, which was a conception incongruent with the absolute rights of the state. Individualism in religion had as its complement, universalism. "A mystical faith such as this which made each soul capable of working out its own salvation, and postulated a natural union between all living creatures, could have no place for patriotic exclusiveness. In the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries the influence of the Orphic brotherhoods was immense, and they preached a religion to the whole world, Greek and barbarian, bond and free."(2)

The Roman theory of International relations was more primitive and elementary than that of the Greeks, but not

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(1) Plato: "Laws" 886A, 887E
886A. Clinias: Surely it seems easy, Stranger, to assert with truth that gods exist.
Athenian: How so?
Clinias: First through the evidence of the earth, the sun, the stars, and all the universe, and the beautiful ordering of the seasons, marked out by years and months, and then there is the further fact that all Greeks and barbarians believe in the existence of gods.

887E .....At the rising and the setting of the sun and moon they heard and saw the prostrations and devotions of all the Greeks and barbarians, under all conditions of adversity and prosperity, directed to these luminaries not as though they were not gods, but as though they most certainly were gods beyond the shadow of a doubt.....

(2) Farnell,H.L. says in "The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion", p.139- "The renown is theirs of being the first world-religion bearing a free message."

without its contribution to progressing thought. Rome returned to the earlier idea that war was the natural relation between states. The Romans were not satisfied with just bringing war to an end, but by treaties they managed to establish a more or less permanent relationship of alliance with the former enemy. Rome's tactics have been discovered, and it is now seen that she first dealt with neighboring states on the basis of equality, but by adding clauses to later treaties, some form of vassalage was created in which that superior position of Rome had to be recognized. Foreigners were treated more liberally in Rome than in Greece. And Roman foreign policy was guided by shrewder considerations of self-interest. In estimating the justice and legality of international acts, Rome always applied her own standards. A just war was declared with due regard to Roman religious ceremonies and legal formalities.

The expansion of Rome into an empire was accomplished almost as much by diplomacy and statecraft as by force. Her policy was to sow discord among different nations. She aided the weaker nations to overthrow the more powerful and stronger, but finally it was also her policy to bring both under her control. She was very shrewd and was careful of her own resources and always used those of her allies whenever possible.

The 'jus gentium' applied only to peoples who were allies of Rome. We are surprised that it was not carried farther than one's own group. With others, no legal relations whatever were recognized. The Empire according to Roman theory was considered the only legal state and from the point of view of international law other states did not exist.

The establishment of the Roman Empire while bringing together practically the whole world under one political system did not further the cause of international relations. When all the nations were knit together under one head, there was no place in the system for each to work out its international theories. Nevertheless, this prepared the way for a later growth of international law.

How may we say that Rome's contribution was made? It may be said that it was in a negative way. First of all, the idea that foreigners were inferiors and enemies, was broken down as was the isolation of states by the creation of common citizenship, the maintenance of the Pax Romana, and also the impartial administration of justice over many nations. Equally important in the same direction was the idea of 'jus gentium' which was a body of laws for the people within the Roman Empire, at first, consisting of rules and usages common to diverse peoples.

Later it was considered applicable to all nations for the Roman jurists of later years identified the general principles of the 'jus gentium' with the law of nature, thus encouraging the application to humanity at large.

The importance of this step lies in the fact that these ideas were appropriated by the founders of international law towards the close of the Middle Ages, and applied in international practice, and gradually prepared the way for the modern conception of a family of nations which carries on its relationships according to definite legal principles.

PART II

A DEFINITION OF INTERNATIONALISM

Before proceeding any further with the account of the rise and development of the idea of internationalism, it seems not inappropriate to define the term. Although it is a familiar term and one of which almost every one knows or claims to know the meaning and significance, nevertheless it is one which is greatly misinterpreted. In this section I shall not attempt to give the final and absolute definition of the word which is so full of meaning and of beauty, I hope only to be able to present some of the different and varying shades of meaning given by others and then to gather them together in a composite form to see if a sufficiently broad and sufficiently exclusive definition cannot be reached.

The precursor of the term internationalism was the adjective "international". It is said that the adjective "international" had been established in the vocabulary of the English language for a little more than a century. Jeremy Bentham is accorded the credit of coining the word[1] in 1780 when he offered it as a more significant

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(1) Fitzeward Hall: "Modern English" 1837, p.317

expression than the older term "the law of nations", as applied to a certain branch of law in his book, "An Introduction to the Principle of Morals and Legislation", page 326.

The word, then, is very new, but as we saw before, the spirit can be traced back many centuries prior to the term.

Richardson's Dictionary which was published in 1838, mentioned it as a "modern word in established use", without defining it.(1) It is not found in any of the various editions of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary of the earlier years, but in 1876 it appears in the revision. Although it passed over into France about 1840, it did not appear in the dictionary of the French Academy until the edition of 1877(2)

"The general index to the British Parliamentary Papers from 1801-1826 does not make use of the adjective which occupies an increasingly large place in all late government indices".

The substantive "internationalism" is of more recent origin. It first appears in the dictionaries in a specific sense as the doctrine of the International Workingmen's

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(1) Charles Richardson: "A New Dictionary of the English Language", 1838

(2) Annuaire de la Vie Internale, 1908-9, p. 31

Association, a socialistic organization founded in London in 1864, under the leadership of Karl Marx. (Imperial Dictionary, 1882; Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1885; Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia, 1879). Three late dictionaries, (Murray's New English Dictionary, 1901:"International character or spirit; the principle of community of interests or action between different nations." The Standard Dictionary, 1913: "The character of being related to more nations than one or to nations generally". Webster's International Dictionary, 1913: "International character, principles, interests or sentiments; also international organization, influence or common participation".) indeed, offer more general definitions of internationalism, while one (Century Dictionary, New Volume, 1909: "Specifically, the principle of forcing a somewhat disorganized or weak country to submit to the combined control or protection of several stronger nations". Egypt was the case in mind.), defines it in a specific sense which certainly is not in keeping with the generally accepted idea."(1)

Most thoughtful people today have some idea of what the term internationalism means and the concept is growing

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(1) Faries, John Culbert: "The Rise of Internationalism".

in content every day.

There is a poem by Edna St. Vincent Millet which contains some beautiful lines that suggest something of the spirit which must not be lacking from internationalism. The last part which is significant to our thinking is quoted:

"The world stands out on either side
No wider than the heart is wide;
Above the world is stretched the sky,-
No higher than the soul is high.
The heart can push the sea and land
Farther away on either hand,
The soul can split the sky in two,
And let the face of God shine through.
But East and West will pinch the heart
That cannot keep them pushed apart;
And he whose soul is flat - the sky
Will cave in on him by and by."

A man's mental horizon is circumscribed by the radius of his projection into the world. If he is interested, his radius is long and his circle wide, but if he does not make himself a part of the world outside, if he does not project himself into it, he is soon confined within his tiny circle. In the same way, man's conception of internationalism is in proportion to his knowledge of conditions outside of his own nation, and is proportionate to his interest also. The interest might be any one of a number, - as political, economic, scientific, religious, or social. The body of internationalism may be said to be the sum of all the interests of all men, expressed in action which

cuts across national and racial boundaries.

Internationalism must not be confused with cosmopolitanism which has about it a detachedness which seems in a degree unnatural. The heedless enthusiast asks why there is such a clamor among the nations. "Why love the one more than the other?" he questions. To him, one is just as well off under one government as under another. "How much better," thinks he, "if I could only live under my own skin". The man "unwept, unhonored, and unsung" who drew the scorn of Sir Walter Scott, was the man without attachment for his native land. Macaulay says that there is a cosmopolitan indifference to conditions and religions which is often observable in persons whose life has been one of vagrant detachedness. The native sod of internationalism is in the life of the smallest human group.

Tennyson Turner once wrote a sonnet entitled "Letty's Globe" in which he pictures a tiny girl holding and playing with the whole round globe. She fondled it in childlike fashion and while playing, "hid all England with a kiss while over Europe fell her golden hair". There is something very intriguing about the suggestion of a child spending happy hours with the world as her playmate, making friends with the continents, and making love to one land, the dearest of all because it is her own. It is probably true that if grown men and women are to live for world

unity, as children, they must understand the world and play with it, so to speak. The ability of seeing mankind as one great family must be cultivated in all. World unity must be a state of mind before it can become a state of fact; play and work, study and dreaming must all be built about the thoughts of a planet of friendly people if the great hope is to be realized at last.

Some additional thought which might add to the defining of the term internationalism may be gained perhaps from the following statements. Wilbur F. Crafts, in "A Primer of the Science of Internationalism", 1906 defines patriotism as the "love for man manifesting itself most strongly to those who are nearest". This question of patriotism enters into the consideration of internationalism very vitally.

In England the Public Works Department ordered the last words of Nurse Edith Cavell to be placed on the statue dedicated to her. This was a move which should have been made as soon as the statue was first dedicated, it is said. The women's clubs and some ministers engaged in active agitation for over eighteen months to get it accomplished. They feel joy now, in the realization that after months and months of hard struggle and effort, the last words will be read by everyone who views the statue in Charing Cross Road at the junction of St. Martin's Lane and Trafalgar Square. The passer-by will stand and read: "Patriotism is not enough.

I must have no hatred or bitterness for anyone". If this spirit can possess the world there will be the fulfilment of the great hope of the humanity to be.

Kirby Page said that "Patriotism at its best is one of the noblest sentiments; at its worst it is one of the most destructive". Too great a love for one's own group leads many to enmity against other groups. Perhaps that is something about which Nurse Cavell may have been thinking when she said that "Patriotism is not enough".

During the recent great war and later, the prevailing conception of patriotism was that it is the duty of every citizen to support his government in all controversies. Emblazoned on the mast-head of several of the leading newspapers and periodicals of this country were the famous words of Stephen Decatur, "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be right; but our country right or wrong". This is still representative of a great mass of people. What we need to do is to teach the children in school not " my country right or wrong", but "My country may it ever be right, but when in the wrong, mine to set it right! " This thought is beautifully put by Rabbi Brickner in his article, "Races, Nations, and Religions" in Religious Education of April 1926.

If patriotism is not made mean and narrow, if it be,

rather, a passionate love for country which moves one to seek its highest good, it is more in accord with internationalism, which is a recognition of the fact that the highest good can only be secured by an intelligent co-operation with men of other nations working towards similar ends. Internationalism tends to expand patriotism into world-consciousness.

Patriotism is always found with nationalism. The theory of nationalism emphasizes the differences among nations. It aims to establish a family of sovereign and independent nations, to develop diplomacy, treaties, the principle of the balance of power. International differences are emphasized also. This latter emphasis is like that of cosmopolitanism. On the other hand the theory of internationalism aims definitely at world unity and world law. In an earlier period this was, in a way, satisfied by the establishment of the world empire by Rome, but in later periods the aim has been international and federation rather than a huge empire under one head.

Loyalty to the national state is being outgrown today partly because the national state is no longer a sufficient protection. People are looking back to the source of security. Loyalty overflows the bounds of the national state. Nations have come in their development to the point where they are terrified by isolation. They want to be members of a

strong group. Nations can do nothing alone and they will never again do anything alone. It might be justifiable to say that there are no more local problems or exclusively national interests, for the world is peculiarly bound together.

Internationalism is a thing not of the flesh but of the spirit. It is a growing thing and not merely a contrivance.

Peter Kropotkin, in "Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution" has observed how mutual aid was a formative principle through all the associations of men back to their simplest forms. The history of society reveals to us how men have been led to form larger and larger groupings through the recognition of mutual interests. Families have been expanded into tribes and clans, and these have been gradually compacted into nations through purposive co-operation. He has noted that animals band themselves together just as human beings for protection and advantage. As we see internationalism today, it too has in it an element of the same, the latest manifestation and the broadest, let us say, of that spirit of mutual aid which has run through the associations of society.

We have viewed internationalism from various angles and in different lights. In order to see and appreciate

it as much as we should we must try to define it. Many attempts have been made to accomplish this difficult task, but are bound and limited, so true definition is difficult if not impossible.

Taking all these things into account, I would say that internationalism is a state of mind through which flows a sentiment of understanding and appreciation of the widely varying characteristics and experiences of other peoples, and with this understanding and appreciation works toward mutual and intelligent participation and co-operation by all nations for the betterment, moral and material, of the whole social order.

Internationalism covers official and unofficial co-operation. John Faries says that it is official "when governments form an association like the Universal Postal Union, or when they send plenipotentiaries to draw up articles which shall have the force of international law, as at the Hague Conferences, or it may be unofficial, as when the representatives of private organizations seek to co-ordinate the work of those interested in any particular field by international congresses and associations. We are warranted therefore in including within internationalism that co-operation of the citizens of various nations which now fall short of international law."

PART III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONALISM

"For I dipt into the future, far as the human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world wide whisper of the south wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder storm;
Till the war drum throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful dream in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

"Locksley Hall"-Tennyson.

The Middle Ages stands for a period of provincialism, deeply ingrained in the hearts of the people. The principles of universal law about which we have just been speaking in Part I, were pushed into the deep recesses of thought while local dominion took the place of world dominion. Raymond G. Gettell calls it an age of "organized anarchy".

The Holy Roman Empire made some very pretentious gestures toward world supremacy, which were just as impossible

as the gestures were pompous. Sovereign national monarchies gradually developed from narrow provincialism or the spirit of localism, and thus prepared the way for international relations. Still the furtherance of the idea of international law was impeded by the survival of the imperial concept.

The church maintained a powerful hold upon the Middle Ages. It was more powerful than the State during the greater part of the Medieval period, and treated each rising nation as a separate unit, and recognized the national spirit. Though it recognized the national States individually, at the same time it viewed them altogether as a world organization in its emphasis on a common Christian brotherhood. The uniform doctrine for all Europe helped as a medium through which it could expound the principles of internationalism.

In contrast to this the Roman Empire extended its dominion over such a large part of the world that it did not recognize the existence of any other legal state; therefore the working out of international law was impossible for it. The church, though it was powerful, could not maintain its claim to world dominion, nor could it prevent the rise of independent states which were too nearly equal for any one to exercise supreme authority. Because of this condition in society, however, international law could develop. The

efforts of the church were expended to curb private warfare, and to apply the principle of international regulation.

As a matter of interest in this connection, in Italy alone, though we do not know the exact nature of the cases, there were 100 instances of arbitration in the 13th century. In the 14th and 15th centuries it declined and in the 17th century it had practically disappeared.

A great factor in bringing various peoples together in the Middle Ages were the Crusades. In the 12th and 13th centuries the crusades exerted a powerful influence. With the one common aim of regaining the Holy Land, various countries were brought together which probably otherwise would not have intercourse. This afforded the exchange of ideas and further stimulated interest in other countries. The conception of the unity of Christendom was also strengthened. private wealth had to be poured into a common fund to support the cause. Those who had anything to give truly gave all that they possessed. By weakening the resources of the nobles, the destruction of the feudal system was quickened. The crusades also stimulated trade and this soon led to the formation of codes of maritime law,[1] which later influenced

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(1) The most important was the Consolato del Mare, published at Barcelona in 1494. The Laws for Western Europe and the Laws of Wisby for the Baltic nations appeared in the 12th and 13th centuries.

international jurisprudence. We see how a semblance of internationalism was carried out in trade relations when the consuls represented the interests of the merchants of the Italian cities as early as the twelfth century, when they were sent to Mohammedan countries. In Venice even as early as the 13th century, diplomatic service was established and rules were laid down for the guidance of its ambassadors. Many of these dilpomatic methods and ideals of the Italian cities were adopted by the kings of the rising national states at the later part of the Middle Ages, in order that they might be able to consolidate their kingdoms and also to expand them.

Although we speak of semblances of internationalism and beginnings of international law in the Middle Ages, in truth the conditions of war and jealousy of the times made international law in the modern sense of the word impossible. The conception of sovereign states which were independent of each other, and with equal rights legally, yet maintaining a balance of power among themselves, was too remote to be imagined, for there were always the rival claims of church and state to confuse them. One would think the idea of the unity of Christendom would extend the influence of the church in aiding international relations, but on the contrary it emphasized the unity of Christendom by

discouraging legal relations with the Mohammedan world. For example, let us take the case of Emperor Frederick II who was a forward looking and progressive ruler, who negotiated a just treaty with the Sultan of Egypt. This was an unforgivable offense from the papal point of view. The complicated but unorganized political system of feudalism and the ideal of unity also made thinking in terms of international relations impossible.

Thus in the Middle Ages the sparks of internationalism were extinguished it seems, by those forces which made difficult the progress of such relations. Little or no progress can be seen after we allow the factors to balance and cancel one another.

However, these medieval ideas were soon overcome by the Renaissance and the Reformation.

To bring to mind in perspective some of the historic facts, "we pass by the sublime, prophetic visions of Isaiah and Micah, the heavenly wisdom of the gospels, the centuries of early Christian non-resistance, when the church grew apace until political power and prosperity degraded it, to the time of Dante's boyhood" when a young lawyer appeared in the beautiful old city of Coutances in Normandy. The lawyer's name was Pierre Du Bois. Very little was known of him except that he was a student of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

What is most noteworthy of him is that even before Dante wrote his "De Monarchia" he had presented his conception of an international representative organization. His plan was to have a congress of princes institute a permanent tribunal of arbitration which would be composed of judges, six of whom would be selected to try cases. 600 years later, in 1899, the first Hague Conference agreed to practically the same plan as was outlined by Pierre Du Bois so many years before.

Many others made their offerings to the cause of peace, but they are too numerous to mention here. I believe however, that Dante[1] had a decided contribution to make. He was weary of factional strife and warfare among princes and cities and made an elaborate argument for world power. The "De Monarchia"[2] is a Latin treatise in three books containing the mature statement of Dante's political ideas. The theory that he propounded was that a universal temporal monarchy or empire is necessary for the well being

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(1) Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321. The greatest of Italian poets. He was born at Florence.

(2) The work was probably composed at the time of the descent of Henry VII into Italy, between 1310-1313. It was first printed by Oporimus at Baslemin 1559 and placed on the Index of forbidden books.

of the world and the Roman people acquired this dignity by right, and that the authority of the emperor depended directly upon God, though he must have reverence for the Pope as the first-born of God. The Pope and the Emperor together are the divinely appointed guides to lead the human race to eternal life and temporal felicity. Dante's ideal of the empire is of a power above national conflicts to preserve universal peace and liberty, in order that man's potentialities might be achieved, for this is the goal of civilization. Briefly then, he argued for a supreme monarch and a universal law.

Contemporary with Dante, Marsiglio of Padua[1] wrote an extraordinary work, "Defensor Pacis". In an opposite direction from Dante, he projected upon society, advanced ideas and theories which were not even understood, much less appreciated, until modern times.

The work set out to demonstrate, at a crisis in the quarrel between the pope and the emperor, the supremacy of the Empire, its independence of the Holy See, and the emptiness of the prerogatives usurped by the foreign pontiffs-

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(1) Born of burgher family in 1270 in Padua, Marsiglio of Padua was an interesting, but impracticable thinker whose writings marked the rapid dissolution of the medieval dominion.

a demonstration naturally calculated to give them a claim on the gratitude of the German sovereign.

To overthrow the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to deprive the clergy of all their privileges, to reduce the pope to the rank of a kind of president of a Christian republic, which governs itself, or rather submits to the government of Caesar - such was the dream formed in 1324 by two masters of the University of Paris, John of Jandun and Marsiglio of Padua.

The concepts of international law were worked out by a group of jurists that culminated in Hugo Grotius, a Dutch jurist who was later immortalized by his contribution: De Jure Belli et Pacis, "The Law of War and Peace".

International wars, political and religious, led in time to the calling of the first great international conferences and to the framing of the international treaty of Westphalia. This treaty signed in 1648 by France, Sweden, and Germany put an end to the Thirty Year's War. It provided that each reigning prince should be free to choose Catholicism, Lutheranism, or Calvinism as the religion of his subjects. In Germany Protestantism was recognized as the State religion, but provision was made for equal representation of Catholicism in the German diet. The independence of Holland and Switzerland was acknowledged; France

acquired Alsace; Sweden secured Bremen, North Pomerania, and Stetten. With this treaty the period of religious wars in Europe ceased.

And now to return to Grotius and his early contribution to the development of the idea of internationalism. Hugo Grotius, otherwise known as Hugo de Groot, was born of noble parentage at Delft, Holland, April 10, 1583. He is known as a great jurist and the founder of international law.

This great "Father of International Law" had an interesting and influential career.

"At 12 he entered the University of Leiden, and at 15 he received his doctorate in law from the University of Paris. In 1599 he issued a treatise for the instruction of seamen in ascertaining the exact situation of a ship at sea, and enrolled himself as an advocate at the Hague. In 1608, Grotius composed his "Mare Liberum", which undertook to show that the sea was open to all without distinction. The year prior to this he married Mary Rygersburgh. He was advanced in 1613 to the judicial station of pensionary of Rotterdam. Two years later he went to England on an embassy representing the rights of fishing for whales in the northern seas, and there he formed many delightful connections at court and with eminent churchmen.

Shortly afterward, Grotius became deeply involved in

the religious animosities which at that time vexed Holland. He had adopted the principle of the Arminian Party in opposition to the tenets held by the followers of Gomar, the Calvinisttic controversialist. Participation in the subsequent popular tumults caused Grotius to be arrested. In 1619 he was sentenced to life imprisonment and was confined in the castle of Louvenstein."(1)

His confinement was rigorous, but after a time his wife obtained permission to share his captivity. Grotius returned in captivity to the classical pursuits of his youth, making Latin translations of Greek tragedians and other writers.

The ingenuity of Madame Grotius at length devised a mode of escape. The books which he had done with were sent out in a chest along with his linen. After a time the wardens began to let the chest pass without opening it. Madame Grotius prevailed on her husband to allow himself to be shut up in it at the usual time. The two soldiers who carried the chest out complained that it was so heavy there must be an Arminian in it. "There are indeed", said Madame Grotius, "Arminian books in it". The chest was carried to

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(10 From the article on Grotius by Mildred Hutchinson in "Linclon Library of Essential Information", 1928.

to the house of a friend where Grotius was released; he was then dressed like a mason with hod and trowel, and so conveyed over the frontier. Hie first place of refuge was Antwerp, from which he proceeded to Paris, where he arrived in April 1621. In October he was joined by his wife. There he was presented to the King, Louis XIII, who granted him a pension of which only small instalments were ever paid. In 1623, the president Henri de Meme lent him his chateau of Balagne near Seulis, and there Grotius passed the spring and summer of that year. De Thou gave him facilities to borrow books from the superb library formed by his father.

In these circumstances the "De Jure Belli et Pacis" was composed. The achievement would have been impossible, but for the fact that Grotius had with him the first draft of the work made in 1604. In March 1625 the printing of the "De Jure Belli et Pacis", which had taken four months, was completed, and the edition despatched to the fair at Frankfort. Though his book brought him no profit, it brought him a great and enduring reputation. Grotius hoped that this fame would soften the hostility of his enemies in Holland, but he was disappointed. He then accepted service under Sweden, in the capacity of ambassador to France. He never enjoyed the confidence of the court to which he was accredited, and in 1645 he demanded and obtained his recall.

He was not happy at Stockholm, and asked permission to leave. He was driven by a storm on the coast near Danzig. He got as far as Rostock, where he found himself very ill. There he died on August 27, 1645.

Grotius was a great jurist, and his "De Jure Belli et Pacis", though not the first attempt in modern times to ascertain the principles of jurisprudence, went far more fundamentally into the discussion than any one had done before him. The fundamental idea of the book is the law of nature; he recognized and stated clearly that the sovereignty of the new national states of Europe did not involve anarchy in the absence of a common superior, but prior to any political organization there still exists law, based on reason and the nature of man as a social being. For the content of that law he went to the Roman jus gentium, the generalization by the praetor of the customs of the peoples with whom he had to deal, which had been itself rationalized into a law of nature under the influence of Stoicism, and thereby laid down the other fundamental doctrine of international law, that the primary evidence of what that law is, is the existing practice of nations.(1)

Nobody has in fact since brought to light any new

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(1) Encyclopedia Britanica 14th edition
Article, "Grotius" by Rev. Mark Pattison.

conceptions of the foundation of international law. Sir Thomas Barclay says of the work,"An exhaustive and masterly treatise having been published, no further subsequent treatise was necessary to show what all men were beginning to feel. He sublimated the feelings of his age, and having arrived at the pure substance, the work of proving the need of his subject was disposed for all time".

A man by the name of Pufendorf succeeded Grotius in writing on the subject of international law. He endeavored to base international law on ethical bases accepted by all peoples without necessity for a common creed or standard of morals, but it is doubtful how much he did, following these lines, toward the advancement of the law of nations. It was all so theoretical that many rational, scientific minds could not accept it. Especially Leibnitz(1646-1716) revolted against this doctrinaire tendency of Pufendorf and other writers and in his "codex juris gentium diplomaticus" as the name suggests, gave a more precise direction to speculation on the subject.

The next great writer of authority had the qualities of both a lawyer and a jurist. Although his name is not so familiar to the ears of our public, he has given a great contribution to the field. The man is Cornelius Van Bynkershoek, the first writer on international law who dealt

with public maritime law as a matter demanding special treatment and involving a set of principles not called into action in warfare on land.(1) He searched through the actual practices of the nations for his data to build up his great work. He generalized the different usages of isolated cases which had grown up at different spots in northern Europe in the interest of maritime defense, and evolved an important principle which has been imported into other branches of international law. That principle is that dominion seawards was limited to the extent to which it was possible to enforce it and that was cannon-shot range.

A contemporary of Bynkershoek, Christian de Wolff who was a philosopher, mathematician and theologian, also lawyer, and disciple of Leibnitz all in one, wrote an accirate and learned treatise on the "Institutions of the Law of Nature and Nations". This book though very learned and accurate could not be much used because it was written in Latin and at a period when scholarship had declined. Therefore its value lay not so much in itself, but in the fact that it was used as the basis of a book by Vattel.(2)

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(1) Cornelius Van Bynkershoek, 1673-1743. Born at Middleburg, Zeeland. A Dutch jurist.

(2) Emeric de Vattel, 1714-1758, a Swiss publicist.

He popularized the study of international law for he was one of the cleverest of French writers of his time. His book was based chiefly on the work of Wolff, but in it he gave what was best among his predecessors without attempting to add anything original of his own. It became a handbook of statesmen and jurists, and has never ceased to be quoted by them to the present day. The theories of custom and practice in war were widely developed and the necessity for humanizing its methods and limiting its destructive effects upon neutral countries were strongly emphasized. While Grotius and Pufendorf recommended acts of mercy, they also held that there was no legal right which required that a conquered enemy be spared. It is a matter of humanity alone. Vattel, much to his credit, went further and advanced ideas of humanity in warfare and rights and obligations of nations. He was the first to make the separation between this science and the law of nature. Vattel advocated a friendly and conciliatory attitude.

"Nature gives us no right to use force, except where mild and conciliatory measures are useless".(1)

"Every power owes it in this matter to happiness of human society to show itself ready for every means of re-

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(1)"Law of Nations" II., chapter XVIII G. 331

conciliation, in cases where the interests at stake are neither vital nor important".(1) At the same time, to him, it is never advisable that a nation should forgive an insult which it has not the power to resent.

Various authors in the field of international law agreed as to general principles, but when these principles were being applied to usage, because they were unwritten as definite rules there was often much controversy and difficulty.

Side by side with this development and gradual popularization of the new science of international law, ideas of a less practical but not less fruitful kind obtained a stronghold on the popular mind.

The Decree of Eternal Pacification of 1495 had abolished private war which was one of the heaviest curses of the Middle Ages. Having gone this far it was a question of how long before the next step, the banishment of warfare between States. Gradually proposals were made of widely divergent kinds.

William Penn wrote some essays pointing to the present and future peace of Europe. This was in 1693 when he sug-

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(1) "Law of Nations" II., chapter XVIII g 332

gested an international tribunal of arbitration in the interests of peace.

The problem of perpetual peace was fairly introduced into political literature by the French writer the Abbe St. Pierre, in an age of Cabinet and dynamic wars. St. Pierre clearly realized and endeavored to prove that a permanent state of peace is not only in the interest of the weaker, but it is required by the society of nations of Europe and by the reason of man. He was among the very first to realize this. The "sweet dream" of a world peace had been one of the cherished ideas of poets and prophets from the beginnings of history, but as a practical project to be actually worked out in life was a new idea.

The plan of Abbe St. Pierre was a decided contribution to the practical working out of the idea of a perpetual peace, but as we look at it today, we must smile, for uppermost in his mind still seems to cling the thought "I am a French statesman and patriot". He is not thoroughly a cosmopolitan political reformer. His plan amounts to a European coalition against the Ottoman Empire. "The Kingdom of Spain shall not go out of the house of Bourbon!" More than the privileges of honor are to go to France, she is to reap the distinct material and political advantages from the union.

Contemporary with Vattel was the great philosopher Immanuel Kant.[1] His contributions to the field of philosophy seem to attract so much interest and study that his great contribution to the thought of peace is often overlooked. In our thinking of internationalism we cannot refrain from the alluring thought of Eternal Peace. For there can be no real international spirit unless we make peace a security. Immanuel Kant's treatise on "Perpetual Peace" was written in 1795.

We must stop here for just a few remarks about this remarkable treatise. To begin with, Kant presents as his ideal a perfectly just civil constitution, administered according to the principles of right. It would be a constitution under which each citizen could have the greatest possible amount of liberty that could be had within those limits. This is one of his ideals for humanity and being such, we know it would be very difficult to realize. Kant tries to make us comfortable by saying, "Out of such crooked material as man is made, nothing can be hammered quite straight".[2] But he makes it clear that the constitution must be made as good as we can and with that, rest content.

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(1) Immanuel Kant, 1724-1804

(2) Proposition 6. "Perpetual Peace" :Kant.

One of the chief requirements of the treatise on "Perpetual Peace" is that men have noble characters. Kant believed that even the most peace loving could not avoid war. To a certain extent he seems to feel that a moral regeneration is necessary.

In dealing with international relations, perfect honesty must prevail. Nations must be perfectly honest, and have faith in the interpretation and fulfilment of treaties.(1) That every state must have a republican constitution is the first definitive article of "Perpetual Peace" because it is a constitution founded in accordance with the principle of the freedom of the members of society as human beings; it makes of all, dependent subjects of a common legislation, and because it is in accordance with the law of equality of the members as citizens. In other words, a republican constitution to Kant, is one which is as nearly as possible in accordance with the spirit of right.

First, he would have a perfect civil constitution according to right - then he would have these law-abiding

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(1) "No treaty of peace shall be regarded as valid if made with the secret reservation of material for future war". Article One, Section One.

powers form a federation. Kant demonstrates the hopelessness of any attempt to secure perpetual peace between independent nations. Such nations may make treaties; but these are binding only for so long as it is not to the interest of either party to denounce them. To enforce them is impossible while the nations remain independent.

Throughout, we feel that Kant's attitude toward the problem of "Perpetual Peace is that it is an ideal, in fact, he plainly states that he regards it as such, and therefore it is unattainable. The value, after all, does not lie in the realization of the ideal, but in the resulting ideas which show us how to live - by the regulative principles. If we have a noble idea toward which to strive, our lives are regulated by it. Kant would say that we cannot shape our life better than in acting as if such ideas of reason have objective validity and there be an immortal life in which man shall live according to the laws of reason, in peace with his neighbor and in freedom from the trammels of sense, which reminds one of his axiom "so act that your principles of action may be made universal law".

The subject matter of the treatise of "Perpetual Peace" is a <u>means</u> of attaining the end.

Two very effective maxims which Kant has given us are: "We must desire perpetual peace not only as a material good, but also as a state of things resulting from our

recognition of the precepts of duty". If the end of perpetual peace is a duty, it must necessarily be deduced from this general law, and Kant does regard it as a duty.

And the other one is: "Seek ye first the kingdom of pure practical reason and its righteousness, and the object of your endeavor, the blessing of perpetual peace will be added unto you".

Authors and scholars in international law, such as those lawyers and jurists we have previously mentioned and such as Lord Mansfield, Sir William Scott, and chief justice Marshall agreed on the general principles of the scienceand have deduced and classified rules and regulations, but when the time came to apply all these things in practice the short comings of unwritten usage were keenly felt and caused much difficulty.

The great work of codifying or rather reducing to writing these unwritten laws of the conscience of Europe was done by the Hague Conferences, but what might be called the first enactment of the rules of international law was the Declaration of Paris of 1856.

The work of the Hague Conferences is very detailed yet it is an actual working out of the principles of International law. In order to gather an idea of the development of internationalism, it is well that we see it through contrast with its early beginnings. At first we saw it when

it appeared only as a faint star in the dawn, hardly visible. As nations rose and gradually had intercourse with one another, the spirit of internationalism was found to pervade at least some of their relationships though totally lacking in some others.

In the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the twentieth, very much had to be done and was done in a concrete and forceful way.

"Two of the conventions adopted in 1899 completed work which had already been commenced long before, viz., those on the usages of war and on the adoption of the Geneva Convention on naval war. The third established methods for the pacific settlement of international difficlulties, including the formation of the Hague Court of Arbitration. Recourse to the latter was purely optional, but the other two conventions have been absorbed into the national law of ratifying countries, and thus have also the domestic sanction States give to their own laws. The work of the conference of 1907 was of a much wider and more exhaustive character than that of 1899. It comprised, besides revised conventions on the matters dealt with in 1899, new conventions on the following subjects: Opening of hostilities; position in naval war of enemy's merchant ships at beginning of hostilities; conversion of merchant vessels

into warships; rights and duties of neutral States in naval war; the laying of automatic submarine contact mines; the bombardment of undefended places by naval forces; treatment of fishing vesels; postal correspondence and capture generally in maritime war; and recovery by force of contract debts. It also adopted a convention for the creation of an International Prize Court of Appeal, which led to the calling of a fresh conference on prize law. This conference sat in London from December 4, 1908 to February 26, 1909; and was confined to representatives of the following countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, United States of America, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Japan, Holland, and Spain. It adopted a series of rules on naval warfare relating to blockade in time of war; contraband of war; unneutral service; destruction of neutral prizes; transfer to neutral flag; enemy character; convoy; and resistance to search and compensation".(1)

The fundamental principles of inter-state intercourses those in fact on which international law is based are:

1. Recognition of each other's existence and integrity as states.
2. Recognition of each other's independence.
3. Recognition of equality, one with another, of all independent states.

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(1) Article, "International Law", Encyclopedia Britanica, 14th edition. Sir Thomas Barclay.

Humanity awaits with eager eye and attentiveness, the pulsating of united life which will prove the worth of the years and years of human effort for the amelioration of mankind.

Through love and fellowship greater heights of divine understanding may yet be reached. Humanity's mission is to realize that Kingdom of Heaven on earth. As the human race mounts ever nearer Divinity, "ever increasingly is the fact brought home to man, that in the eyes of the Divine Creator, the hitherto irreconsilable tribes of the earth were originally conceived and created as one".(1)

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(1) Hendrik Andersen.

PART IV

INTERNATIONALISM AND ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY

The world has progressed by war and it has progressed by religion. War has given the arms of material protection; religion has given an invisible ideal to the minds of men.

The world has progressed in spite of war, I should say. However great the value of war might have been in the past, to blend together nationalities, to draw great groups of people together, to unite their achievements, to set up great aims and ideals for the protection of which even life was never grudged; however useful it was in stimulating patriotism, yet although vast sums are annually set aside for the elaborate scientific preparations for war, war is becoming more and more unnecessary.

The future must find for itself a newer and more righteous means of protection than the destruction of human life. Science can help to preserve life, and religion ever points more clearly to God, and the God in man which cannot be crushed out by death. As men awaken to Truth, they will be repelled with horror from the thought of using death-dealing devices.

The world has looked to practically everything to solve the question of peace and brotherhood, but it has

left religion out of its thought.

We feel that Christianity has a wonderful contribution to make and that there is a close relationship between internationalism and Christianity. The real value of the teachings of Jesus have been hidden from our view by all the impediments which men have put around it in the past.

I am reminded of what Charles Gilkey said in an address which he gave at the National Student Conference in Milwaukee in 1927. The illustration which he took from Harry Emerson Fosdick has somehow stayed with me. In speaking of the spirit and attitude of historic Christianity, he said, "it has rolled down the centuries like a vast snowball, picking up all kinds of incongruous creeds, ceremonies, churches, civilizations, and inconsistent attitudes. But down near the heart of it there has lived and still lives something of that spirit and faith of Jesus which has been the real core and source of its momentum".

Today there is an awakening appreciation for the teachings of Jesus as they came from his own lips. Jesus did not lay down any hard and fast set of laws on what we now term internationalism, but all through the teachings there are implications which most certainly influence human conduct and thought in that direction. Personal life is the foundation of society. The nations of the

World cannot even take the first step in ethical relations until their people are willing to go with them. Christianity which has grown up around the life of Jesus and the principles for which he stood, and internationalism have something in common; and that something is essentially spiritual. They both breathe a spirit of love.

Jesus came into this world as an embodiment of an ideal. His life which was lived so abundantly and so nobly has been a light to the whole world. It was the light of truth, and it burns brightly and steadily amidst all the tempests of the times. All the world shares in this light, not only the rulers and kings, but also the meek and humble. It is so clear and inspiring a light that even the blind can see the kingdom of God through the eyes of the soul. He taught that the kingdom of heaven is within man's heart, and so, through love and devotion, labour and justice, this invisible kingdom can grow strong and indestructible.

The only hope for an ultimate peace and brotherhood lies in religion, and finally in Christianity for it does seem to have in it the highest expression of the best which mankind can conceive. Knowledge is not enough, for men have been seeking knowledge ever since history began, and have found much. Nor will it come through law. Laws are

being made one after another in such rapid succession that men can hardly remember them all. They are made and broken simply because men's wills and attitudes do not submit wholly to them. They are not sufficient. The nations have tried to bring peace by economic readjustments, scientific discoveries, interlocking of financial interests, discreet commercial diplomacy, and by the study of the refinements of various cultures, but no, it does not come in these ways. Nothing suffices but the spirit of God - the spirit of the man who died on the cross and who said, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." It is thus that humanity is able to unite on the ascent together, being drawn up by the personality of Christ. It is not by might, nor by power that the world shall be united, but only by absorbing the spirit of Jesus.

Christianity lays great stress on the inestimable worth of the person. It is a spirit which abolishes, so far as relationship is concerned, caste, race prejudice, class prejudice and national prejudice. By it, all mankind can be dealt with justly. The Latin poet well said, "I count nothing human, foreign to me". The Bible pleads with us to put away all bitterness and wrath, and anger and clamor and evil speaking and malice, and to be kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one to another, even as God for

Christ's sake has forgiven us" (Ephesians 4:32). When individuals can put this command by Paul into practice, it shall be a mark of such advancement as has never yet been known.

When the thought of internationalism comes to us, we are led unconsciously to think of one of the most searching and hardest commands of Jesus. Reading from the Gospel of Matthew we see, "Ye have heard it said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy': but I say unto you; 'Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you; that ye may be sons of your Father who is in heaven" (Matthew 5:43). This gets to the core of life itself, for in the circle of human relations, a sincerely loving heart is a primary requisite if good actions are to result. When one loves a person, he has a warm active desire to see him develop and become the best that he is capable of becoming. One also wishes him to have, so far as it is consistent with the common good, whatever will conduce to this end.

An old ethical teaching of Buddha found in the famous scripture, the Dhammapada, first chapter, is a maxim about the casting out of hate. The maxim reads, "For hatred does not cease at any time: hatred ceases by love - this is an old rule". It is very much like a Christian teaching. The truth of these few simple words is striking. As individ-

uals dare to love their enemies, nations will also take up their responsibility to humanity and drive out their selfish nationalism thus bringing in the broader spirit of motivating nationalism to be subsirvient to internationalism.

By putting emphasis on all the things which we have in common, some superficial moralists are trying to make one nationality like another, but war and ill feeling can never cease until each can see and appreciate the differences. Nations as well as individuals will be compelled to see the value of differences and realise that they must be maintained and not blotted out.

As individuals see the value in other persons, so also must nations see the value of each nation for each other. Miss Mary Parker Follett in "The New State" gives us a happy thought along this line: "The Pacifists," she says, "have wanted us to tolerate our enemies, and the more extreme ones, to turn the other cheek when smitten. But tolerance is intolerable, and we cannot dwell among enemies. The ideal of this planet inhabited by Christian enemies all turning the cheek does not seem to me a happy one. We must indeed, as the extreme militarists tell us, "wipe out" our enemies, but we do not wipe out our enemies by crushing them. The old fashioned hero went out to conquer his enemy; the modern hero goes out to disarm his enemy through creating

mutual understanding.

When the lawyer of the Pharisees approached Jesus and asked, "Teacher, which is the great commandment in the law?" Jesus said to him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first great commandment. And a second like unto it is this, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' " (Matthew 22:36)

On another occasion when Jesus had discourse with the young lawyer he said in effect, "Your neighbor is not one of your own circle of acquaintances, one of your community or race or nation, but anybody you can help."(1) Love has been given a new interpretation; it is not that affection which one would feel for friends or companions near at hand, but it is that good will which is quick to help any one in need of help. Christian love extends to persons of every race, or nation, or station. Good will which rises above likes and dislikes, and is superior to personal prejudice is the very essence of Christian love.

If individuals could only do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, true internationalism would cer-

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(1) McGiffert, Arthur C. :"The Church and World Fellowship" in Religious Education, June 1921.

tainly become a realisable dream. Christianity's spirit breathes that love which "bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, and endures all things." It is working for the sway of the love the "never faileth". So too, with internationalism, for nothing can be done or accomplished without it.

The world is all too ready to quote Kipling's lines:

"For East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet,"

as if that were a final fact. They forget that the poet continues,

"But there is neither East nor West,
border, nor breed, nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face
though they come from the ends of the earth."

Both Jesus and Paul have alluded to the all inclusiveness of the Christian realm. How closely must this be followed by internationalism if it is to be successful! "They shall come from the east and from the west and from the north and from the south, and shall sit down..... in the kingdom of God (Matthew 6:11). There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free..... for we are all one in Christ Jesus."(1) It seems here that the first seeds of a universal peace have been sown. Can

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(1) Galations 3:28

Christianity re-establish peace among mankind?

This is another of the great characteristics of Christianity which we are proud to share with internationalism. Worldmindedness means also openmindedness, and sympathetic and intelligent interest in the important aspects of the life of the peoples and nations all around the world. A Japanese statesman, Baron Sakatani, though making no pretence of being a Christian is showing how much Internationalism is related to Christianity. He said, "Personally I never think merely as a Japanese. My uppermost thought is always the world's good. Among my nationals there are many men of this type." There are many people in every nation who have this same mind. It seems to show that the world is actually ready to build a brotherhood. This present stage is no time to be thinking in terms of self and of one's own nation alone; everyone must think in broad terms of the world, and plan for the world's good.

The justice and equality of God reaches out to men every where. "For he maketh the sun to shine on the evil and the good, and sendeth the rain on the just and the unjust"(Matthew 5:45) Is not this equality and impartiality the very essence of internationalism? Men say 'these things can be, only in heaven where all men are perfect'. But do we not always pray, "Thy kingdom come, thy will

be done on earth as it is in heaven?" Prayer is the heart's sincere desire. The things which one most desires are sought after with diligence and earnestness. They are not the things which come to us while we sit back at ease, but they come with honest toil and hard labor.

It would be well if mankind would accept the challenge to seek perfection, even as the heavenly Father is perfect. It requires an immense amount of moral courage and discipline as well as spiritual vigour to even so much as make an attempt to be like our Father in heaven. For the success of internationalism, which ever seeks the good of other peoples as well as one's own, a heart akin to the Divine is necessary.

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God" (Matthew 5:9). Peace and brotherhood seem to be the conditions most honored and desired by the Christian spirit, for the rewards of those who strive to realise them are the most high. They shall be called "sons of God" and their reward will be that of enjoying close harmony in fellowship with Him. One does not wonder at the place which is given to the peacemakers, for in creation's plan, all men were meant to live together in unity and understanding. The Christian belief is that all mankind has come from one divine source - "God has made of one, all the nations of the earth."

If men will come to believe this truth, they will no longer be content with the wranglings of jealous powers or the struggling together of obstinate factions, but would arrive at some successful plan of true internationalism.

Even more simply and irresistably than his own words, Jesus has given these things to us in his life and death. In him we see the dearest revelation of love, accessible and dependable, and inexhaustible for all men alike everywhere.

We have been too content to admire and to adore Jesus without obeying him. Our sin is not that we have exalted him too much, rather, it seems as if we could never quite exalt him enough; but what we have neglected woefully to do is to respect his judgments and commands. We have forgotten the fact that to truly exalt his person would result in an inevitble consequence and that is, that we would feel the obligation to do as he says more fully than ever before. The mere fact of realizing that the "Kingdom of heaven is within" gives a spiritual significance to our highest motives and acts.

As may be seen from the foregoing pages, my view is that there can be no real internationalism and world fellowship except individuals change their hearts and become obedient both in act and spirit to the divine commands.

But if that were the only solution to the question of bringing about internationalism, we should have to wait long indeed.

Besides individual faith and loyalty, we strongly need a Christian spirit to pervade the institutions of society.

Among the greatest of society's institutions are the home, school, and church. The attitudes which children in their formative years receive in the home and school are 'fearful' in their power of making permanent impressions. What changes could be wrought in the management of the world if the home and the school were pervaded with the spirit of equality of all before God, and the ideal of world peace!

The church is just now being roused from its lethargy of indifference to social problems and awakened to the fact that it is as much God's plan to save Humanity at large from the terrors of war torn desolation, as it is to save individual souls from disintegration. How strange to say that the church needs to be Christianized, but that is the truth. It needs to be Christianized in the sense that it must "revalue its values", from it narrow man-made exclusivism, to that wideness which only Jesus can give.

The institution of the church, one of the bulwarks

of society, has in it great potentialities for helping the world forward. The pulpit can bring the vital problems of the social order to men and interpret them in a sane and humane light. "The latest and one of the best verdicts of Christianity and Judaism combined against social injustice is, that 'bad morals never make good economics'. Valuable in itself, this truth is even more valuable because it shows the possibilities for social justice contained in concerted action, and also the changed bearing of the church upon industrial controversies. But bad morals will persist to the undoing of good economics unless unified Christian action proves too strong for them. Should Protestantism, alive to the danger, direct its onpressing energies against open wrongs, it can, with the help of all believers in justice, clear the economic jungle of its beasts of prey. Yet the jungle cannot be transformed into the Lord's garden where toil is welcome, until His winds have breathed upon it the life from above. The new social order is not to be ushered in by blows, nor hewn out after the fashion of the sword, nor tempered on anvils of steel. Those who shall introduce it, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant, must stand Godward together, interpreting its requirements with the vision of faith, with the "patience of passion", with the "signet of love for a

seal"".[1]

There is great need for Christianizing industry and commerce. To plant within them the spirit of co-operation and weed out the mad competition which tries to succeed by causing another to fail, is essential to internationalism. We might find that industry and "big business" have a hand in holding back the progress of international commerce, or disarmament.

The thinking people of the country must select for their future leaders, not so much men with power of apeech or of popularity, but men of vision and deep moral insight, men who will not fear the taunts of the rabble.

> "O Christ, thou hast bidden us pray for the coming of thy Father's kingdom, in which his righteous will shall be done on earth. We have treasured thy words but we have forgotten their meaning, and thy great hope has grown dim in thy Church. We bless thee for the inspired souls of all ages who saw afar the shining city of God, and by faith left the profit of the present to follow their vision. We

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(1) From S. Parkes Cadman: "The Challenge to Protestantism", Earl Lecture at the Pacific School of Religion, 1922.

rejoice that today the hope of these lonely hearts is becoming the clear faith of millions. Help us, O Lord, in the courage of faith to seize what has now come so near, that the glad day of God may dawn at last. As we have mastered Nature that we might gain wealth, help us now to master the social relations of mankind that we may gain justice and a world of brothers. For what shall it profit a nation if it gain numbers and riches, and lose the sense of the living God and the joy of human brotherhood?

Make us determined to live by truth and not by lies, to found our common life on the eternal foundations of righteousness and love, and no longer to prop the tottering house of wrong by legalized cruelty and force. Help us to make the welfare of all the supreme law of our land, that so our commonwealth may be built strong and secure on the love of all its citizens. Cast down the throne of Mammon, whoever grinds the life of men, and set up thy throne, O Christ, for thou didst die that men might live. Show thy erring children, at last the way from the city of destruction to the City of Love, and fulfil the longings of the prophets of humanity. Our Master, once more we make thy faith our prayer: "Thy

kingdom come ! Thy will be done on earth !"

- Amen

-From "Prayers of the Social Awakening"

by Walter Rauschenbusch.

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